4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 138 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from "Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'o 雪隆坡 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ku 渣古 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mai River 麦 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 马塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ku and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even 241 during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. 133 During the day the temperature might rise to 70° or more. Thus the growing season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

133 241 relief and the low temperatures limit the cultivation on any large scale. Most of the cultivated lands are located in the southeast, in the drainage area of the Cha-ku and the Black Rivers, on gentle slopes between an altitude of 5,000 to 9,000 ft.

133 241 433 Roughly speaking, over 50% of the total agricultural food stuffs produced in Lifan are produced along the Cha-Ku valley, between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao 卡古脑, a distance of not more than 50 miles. And these crops are mostly grown on slopes rather than on alluvial plains at the valley bottoms. The total area of alluvial plains at the valley bottom between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao is smaller in area than the cultivated mountain slopes of even one mountain settlement, as for instance Chia-chan-chai 甲山寨. This shows the insignificance of alluvial lowlands and the importance of slope cultivation in the region. Besides the Cha-ku valley, the Black River valley which is the other tributary to the Min also has some fertile slope lands under cultivation. As all the valleys are separated by high mountains with steep slopes, the cultivated area on slopes is nowhere very extensive.

241 132 433 Besides the topographic limits of land utilization, climatic influences are also very great. Though the climate varies from valley to valley, yet it is controlled by definite climatic laws. In regions where the altitude is below 6,000 ft., the summer temperature can go up as high as 86° F (30° C) and the minimum temperature during the hottest month, August, could go down to 57° F (14° C). On the average, the temperatures for six months, from the middle of October to the middle of April, are below the critical temperature for vegetation growth. That leaves a growing season of only about six months.

In the grasslands the annual average temperature is below 30° F. Even during the height of summer, the maximum temperature goes only as high as 74° or 75° during the day, and can go as far down as 33° F. The growing season is thus shortened to less than four months.

As far as moisture is concerned, the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft., being hidden between high mountain walls, are usually very dry, because little moisture can reach them. The average relative humidity for August last summer was below 50%. Between an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000, due to the orographic effect of air that is rising along the slopes, the average relative humidity for August last summer was below 60%, while the slopes above 7,000 ft. during the same period had an average relative humidity of about 80%. Thus during the severe drought in the summer, while the crops on the lower slopes were all withered and with no hope for any harvest, the oats, potatoes, and barley were flourishing on the upper slopes. The relative humidity is still higher as the altitude goes higher until it reaches the altitude of about 10,000 feet, when it begins to decrease again. Therefore, according to moisture distribution, the mountainous country is classified into four zones: the arid zone, the semi-arid zone, the humid zone, and the sub-humid zone.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes.

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization.

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang 羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan 番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development.

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

161
361

Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, their houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed: about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain [illegible], where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

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First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style, and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and red coral, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her rank.

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no
use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are usually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Tsing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. attitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Chan-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese.
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

1 [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231
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For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

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Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 长崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

In the grasslands among the Fan people, out of their nomadic mood of living grows the hospitable custom of playing host. In the wilderness of the grasslands there are neither inns nor hotels. Travellers in these regions have to depend upon the mercy of the local population for shelter and food. If a traveller once stayed in one tent, next time when he visits the place again he must stay with the same host. If not the host will be greatly offended, and the traveller will get himself into a bad way. The host family looks at the stranger as a member of the family, and they are very generous with chang-pa and milk. They seem to have a feeling of responsibility toward strangers who get into their midst. They feel it is up to them to feed the strangers. What they have is very little, but they are ready to share with others what they have.

E. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

The general impression of the tribal communities is the importance of women, and some people even say that the borderland is a woman's world, because women seem to dominate in everything there. But when one comes to examine the situation more closely, he finds the situation is quite different. In these mountainous and grassland areas, the natural environment is hard on people, living conditions are difficult, and the population is scanty. The result is that there is very little difference between the rich and the poor, and people are more democratic in spirit. Women, too, have to do their share in getting themselves and their families food. They have to work hard for their living. Therefore, women are as important as men in supporting the family. And where the Lama faith predominates, most men spend days and years in prayer and meditation, and dreaming about the future, and it becomes the lot of the women to see about the dirty work and the problems of the present. Women have to cultivate the land, or to attend to the cattle, or to rule the people, while their sons, grandsons, and even husbands are turning their prayer wheels and reading their scriptures. I do not think that they have ever thought that they are giving the women the more important place in society, nor do the women have any idea that they are working with freedom or equality. It is simply a question of necessity, because no people can live on prayers and scriptures alone. Thus without fighting for emancipation or equality, women are the pillars of society.

Among the tribal people there are as many women rulers as men. For instance, in the Black River the wife of the tribal leader at Lu-hwa 蘆花 is the ruler at Cha-o 茶窩. The wife of the tribal leader at Ma-o 麻窩 is ruler at Lung-pa 龍坪. In some cases the women leaders are doing a much better job than the men. The people do not seem to mind whether the ruler is a woman or a man, as long as he or she does the job well.

Not only among the ruling families, but even among the rank and file, the women seem to be the brains in all affairs. When you go into a home it is to

4: Lin K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

562 the women you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Long-hai 隆海 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this fair honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

4: Liu K74 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time.

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest.

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

791 796 one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localities six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

631 624 I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chuan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two women rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

249 II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

249

now under the direct control of the county government, one can see huge stretches of once cultivated slopes that are now lying waste. "Because," the farmers say, "from the day poppy cultivation was forbidden we could not afford to cultivate all these lands, because there are too many wild animals coming out from the mountains to destroy the crops. We can cultivate only as much as we can protect."

As a result of this the people are terribly poor, due to the lack of salable crops. The digging of medicinal herbs is also on the decline in recent years. In the interior of the mountains the situation is still worse. People cannot talk about law and order, loyalty, and faithfulness on empty stomachs. Military force cannot conquer the hearts. A new way must be discovered to help the mountain peoples to produce something that is easy to carry, yet can bring in a financial income that will enable them to buy their daily necessities. When the mountain peoples discover that something is more profitable than opium, they will stop cultivating the poppy of their own accord. Therefore, the best way to help these tribes people in the mountains is to help them to help themselves, by helping them to better adjust themselves to their particular environments.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

[End Map B]

CHO KE CHI
卓克基

RIVER

Keng
更

Ts'ing
清

Mountain
卡

Range
子

Sung-kang
松岡

Mar-k'ang
馬爾康

Ba-i
壩

Ma
麻

Cha-Ke-chi
卓克基

Tang Pa
黨壩

Li-fan and its Environs

O Lo
俄羅

Ah-pa
阿壩

Sung-pan
松潘

Ch'iung
邛

4: Lin K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

563

AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

4: Liu K-4 (no date)

Ch'iang

Mao-kung

Li-hsien

Ma-k'ang

Li-fan

Mao-hsien

Wei-chow

Wen-chuan

Reference

- Fan People
- Gia Rung People
- Ch'iang People
- Gia Rung & Ch'iang
- Po-Lotsu
- City
- Town
- River
- La Ma Temple

Lat. & long of Li-fan City
103°20'5" 31°37'55"

[End Map C]

[End Map D]

Li-Fan County

Mao-chow
茂州

mo
磨

Range

Old
舊

Fan
番

New
新

Fan
番

563

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

[End Map E]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

563